

OPPOSITION: Burma : NDF/National Coalition

Meeting

successfully  
from Oct. 3  
in Front

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT (NDF)  
(BURMA)

Statement Issued by the 3rd. Plenary Central Presidium Meeting

The 3rd. plenary central presidium meeting was held successfully at the headquarters of the National Democratic Front from Oct. 3 to 30, 1984. All nine members of the National Democratic Front (NDF) attending the meeting were:-

1. Arakan Liberation Party	(ALP)
2. Kachin Independence Organization	(KIO)
3. Karen National Revolutionary Council	(KNRC)
4. Karen National Union	(KNU)
5. New Mon State Party	(NMSP)
6. Pa-O National Organization	(PNO)
7. Palaung State Liberation Organization	(PSLO)
8. Shan State Progress Party	(SSPP)
9. Wa National Organization	(WNO)

The significant feature of this meeting is that besides the Central Presidium of the National Democratic Front (NDF), all top leaders from the respective organizations and parties also participated in the meeting and beneficial discussions were made frankly in a fraternal atmosphere.

Because of the eight years voyage of the National Democratic Front (NDF), all members gained better understanding and unity remarkably. For a speedy accomplishment of the aims and object of the National Democratic Front (NDF) the working plan and programmes were practiced in the form of collective leadership based on equality and democracy as clearly defined in the constitution, thus promoting co-operation, co-ordination and understanding among the National Democratic Front (NDF) members. The National Democratic Front do not want racial hatred. It is struggling for liberty, equality and social progress of all indigenous races of Burma, because Burma is a multi-national state inhabited and owned by all.

In the so called Burma of today, the National Democratic Front intends to establish a unified genuine Federal Union with all ethnic races including the Burmese. The peaceful demand for liberty, equality and social progress by the indigenous races were not only turned down but are replied by means of atrocious suppressions and military operations by the successive Burmese governments.

Without solving the political problems by political means, the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) government step up its atrocious military operations thus causing difficulties to the people. By over spending the state budget in waging the ruthless civil war, Burma is now in a state of bankruptcy with a heavy burden of foreign debt.

The reactionary Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) government is facing innumerable crisis in the country and losing prestige in the international arena by adopting and practicing the wrong policies. The military government is therefore exploiting and

suppressing the people mercilessly to overcome these crisis. As long as the reactionary government exist, the people will surely suffer hardship and miseries. To overthrow the reactionary government and to establish the genuine Federal Union all members of the National Democratic Front undoubtedly believed that a united struggle under the banner of the National Democratic Front will be more effective and will gain early victory.

In accordance with the developing situation, all leaders actively and unanimously, lay down the political, military, foreign, and financial programmes and all vowed to make a joint effort in the implementation of the programmes.

The consolidated National Democratic Front (NDF) decided to fight on until victory is achieved and request the people from various classes and all walks of life to join hands and fight against the Ne Win-San Yu military dictatorship government.

Down with the (BSPP) military dictatorship government.  
The National Democratic Revolution must win.  
The genuine Federal Union must emerge.

Central Presidium  
National Democratic Front  
Burma

October 30, 1984

THE 6TH NDF STATEMENT ON THE PRESENT PROBLEMS IN BURMA

The following are comments and observations in regard to the recent mass uprising in Burma in relation to the armed resistance of the National Democratic Front of Burma, comprised of revolutionary organizations representing ten nationalities.

- 1 The NDF expresses their full support to the students and monks and the people in their determined pursuit of their just demands. The NDF is committed to go all the way with those involved in the present uprising, as mentioned above, until the final victory is won. We extend our sympathies to all those who have suffered and died at the hands of the Burma Army and the riot police and accordingly set aside September 21st as a special memorial day to honor those who have so heroically given their lives. Memorial ceremonies will be conducted at the NDF headquarters and the headquarters of member units on this day.
- 2 The NDF again urges expatriate Burmese living in foreign countries and our friends from foreign countries who sympathize with the present cause in Burma to help and support those who are demonstrating to the fullest extent possible.
- 3 We support the opposition leaders who are working together with one accord to lead the various groups composed of monks, students, and masses who are demonstrating within the country for the immediate resignation of the BSPP government. The leaders of the NDF desire to work together with the opposition leaders to bring about democracy and internal peace to the country.
- 4 It is widely known that political and economic problems are the root cause of the present problems within Burma. In regard to the political problem, it is seen that previous governments in Burma have not only violated the inalienable and democratic rights of the people but have failed to resolve issues involving the nationalities and their equal rights and their rights to self-determination. In regard to the economic problems, it is seen that not only have the governments not been able to improve the economy, they have also monopolized the national economic system, resulting in having to petition for Least Developed Country status. That is why the cost of living has skyrocketed while the living standards have decreased annually throughout the country.

Therefore, until the above two issues are resolved, the NDF is absolutely convinced that no government which comes to power will be able to restore peace, stability, and progress to the country.

In resolving the political issues, it will be necessary to give equal rights to the nationalities and a genuine federal union must be formed and the state of the nationalities must be given self-determination and the government should be formed through a multi-party system.

In resolving the economic issues, the civil war which has halted the economic development of the country must be brought to an end. Due to the civil war, the central government has not been able to develop the natural resources that make up nearly 80% of the nation's reserve which are located in the states belonging to the nationalities. Because of the civil war, the central government has had to spend more than 40% of its revenues to maintain its armed services. Therefore it is seen that the economic health of the country has deteriorated drastically. In addition, it is seen that the civil war, which is an obstacle to the economic development of the nation, must be removed by being brought to an end.

5 It is widely understood that the 40-year-old civil war is the root cause of all the nation's ills and problems. Therefore, a government or a politician who is unable to address and solve the above issues will be seen as one who is not truly concerned about the future of the country and will be rejected by the people. The civil war came about as a result of political problems (the violation of the rights of the nationalities and the violation of democracy and human rights), and will not be resolved unless the government is able to honestly and sincerely deal with the NDF, which represents all the nationalities, in talks to find a political solution at the negotiating table.

THE UNITY OF THE NATIONALITIES MUST BE ESTABLISHED IMMEDIATELY!

THE PEACE OF THE NATION MUST BE BROUGHT ABOUT IMMEDIATELY!

A FEDERAL UNION MUST BE FORMED!

September 15, 1988

The Presidium  
National Democratic Front (NDF)  
The Union of Burma

National Democratic Front (NDF)  
(Burma)

Position - Statement on the Suppression of Narcotic Drugs.

The (BSPP) regime has been spreading false propaganda, blaming the Ethnic Nationality Revolutionary Organizations for the failure of narcotics suppression programme in Burma, inspite of massive aid.

This statement is issued to day bare for all the people, inside and outside of the country, to see the fallacy of the propaganda.

Of all the opium growing countries, Burma is the leading producer of the narcotic. Opium had been grown in Burma since last a couple of centuries for medicinal purposes. It was once advertised as the cure of drug by the well known buyer company and sold openly. As the consumption increased, opium became a commercial commodity.

After entered Burma, the Koumingtang (KMT) troops started growing and trading in opium on a fairly large scale in the 50s. To suppress the (KMT) troops the Rangoon government recruited many members of the hill tribes into militia forces known as KA-KWE-YE (KKY). Since the government could not pay the (KKY) troops for their service, it allowed them to trade in opium. This in a short time, boosted the opium production and trade to a higher level. As a consequence, export of the opium greatly increased.

We have learnt that the 1986-87 harvest is estimated to bring in 1,100 metric tons of opium, and increase by 400 metric tons over the production of the previous year. International trafficking of opium is done entirely by foreigners not the native hill tribes.

In Burma, opium is grown mainly in the border areas of Shan State and the South-eastern part of Kachin State. The natives in the areas have to grow opium for survival as the climate and soil do not favour the growing of any other stable crops.

The increase in the production of opium is also contributed by the fleeing of a large part of the population on the plains to the hills in the border areas, because the (BSPP) regime forces them to sell their agricultural products at very low prices. Moreover, the Burma Army (BA) troops put them into forced labour and commit atrocities against them. Once in the hills, these people automatically become opium growers.

The NDF has a policy to eliminate all kinds of narcotic drugs, including illicit opium.

It is sad to learn that the US government's attempt of narcotics suppression in Burma does not work in a proper way. It is like curing decease with wrong medicine. For the suppression of opium, the US has increased the aid money, year after year, to the (BSPP) regime. We have learnt that the US intends to give 13 million dollars to the (BSPP) regime for the year of 1988.

What so ever the amount of big money, the production of opium is keep going on increasing as evidenced by the figure quoted above, so long as the approach to the problem is divorced from reality.

The truth, one should know is that the (BSPP) regime is stage-managing the opium suppression campaign just to delude its donors, while covertly working to reap the greatest benefit from the narcotics business by encouraging its growth.

Instead of using the aid money for narcotics suppression, as intended by the donors, the (BSPP) regime is misusing it mainly for the expension of its armed forces and raging genocidal war against the indigenous nationalities while acquiescing the involvement of its district officials militia troops and some of the (EA) combat officers in opium production and trade.

The positive and thoughtful way of opium elimination in Burma is to establish peace by solving the nationality questions correctly by political means, instead of using military might. The civil war of Burma which had been raging for (40) years has to emerge since the basic human rights and democracy are denied to the indigenous nationalities. And there will be no end to it unless the Rangoon regime follows the channel of solving political problem by political means.

Accordingly, any effective programme for the total elimination of narcotic drugs should be based on:-

- (1) Cessation of civil war to work out suitable crops substitution systematically in long term plan, with international aids and supervision.
- (2) Cessation of international aids to the (BSPP) regime for the purpose of narcotics suppression.
- (3) Mobilization of international pressure to the bear on the (BSPP) regime in order to persuade it to seek peace with the indigenous nationalities.
- (4) Co-ordination of the organization concerned with the NDF, an organization representing all nationalities in Burma, for narcotics suppression work.

NDF welcomes any organization that will co-operate with it for narcotics suppression and looks forward to the organization of sensible and effective activities for the purpose.

Waxing Moon of Wazo 15, 1349. The Second Congress  
July 8, 1987. The National Democratic Front (NDF)  
(Burma)

National Democratic Front (NDF)  
(Burma)

Statement of the Second Congress

Peoples of All Nationalities,

The Second Congress of the National Democratic Front (NDF) has been successfully held at the NDF Central Headquarters, starting from May 25 to July 8, 1987.

All the member organizations of the NDF were represented at the Congress, viz :

- (1) The Arakan Liberation Party (ALP)
- (2) The Kachin Independence Organization (KIO)
- (3) The Karen National Progressive Party (KNPP)
- (4) The Karen National Union (KNU)
- (5) The Lahu National Organization (LNO)
- (6) The New Mon State Party (NMSP)
- (7) The Pa-O National Organization (PNO)
- (8) The Palaung State Liberation Party (PSLP)
- (9) The Shan State Progress Party (SSPP)
- (10) The Wa National Organization (WNO)

The top leaders and delegates from all the ten NDF member organizations attended the Congress. The LNO is a new member organization the membership of which had been accepted just before the Congress began.

In order to elevate the revolutionary struggle to a higher stage, every member organization took time and actively participated in discussions at the Congress reviewing past work, recording achievements and adopting new programs and plans of action, with unanimity.

The Congress has served as an avenue to better understanding among the member organizations and has established a stronger unity. Regardless of size, there is complete equality for all the organizations in the NDF. New leaders have been elected democratically in accordance with the basic principle of unity of all the NDF member organizations.

The Second Congress has made certain adjustments in the NDF's policies and work programs and adopted some amendment to the Constitution so as to make them to be in consonant with time. Certain important points regarding the structure of the future Federal Union have been discussed and agreed upon. The Congress has laid down new programs for political, military, organizational, financial and economic affairs and the foreign relations.

For the realization of its objective of founding a Federal Union of States consisting of a Burmese state for the Burmese people and based on the multi-party system which is compatible with all the indigenous peoples, on equality and on self-determination, and in conformity with its political program, the NDF has reaffirmed its policy decisions which are as follows :

- (a) To fight against imperialism, feudalism and chauvinism which are personified by the present regime and which have oppressed the indigenous peoples through out the ages and down to the present time, and to march on in conformity with the doctrines of National Democracy.
- (b) To recognize the various oppressed nationalities, people of all classes and strata, democratic forces and forces for peace as revolutionary forces and establish unity with them.
- (c) To maintain armed struggle as the main form of struggle and to continue the fight by combining it with various forms of political offensive.
- (d) To utilize the unity of various nationalities and the practice

of agrarian system conducive to the benefit of the peasants and farmers as a motive force for the revolution.

Though some of the armed organizations fighting against the common enemy, the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) regime, have political programs and lines dissimilar to those of the NDF, the NDF will endeavour to establish understanding with them on the condition that they do not oppose the NDF's programs and NDF member organizations, and the NDF will endeavour to improve relations with those that have already established contact with it. A decision has been made to settle any dispute among the armed revolutionary organizations, through peaceful negotiation, without recourse to force.

In addition to suppressing the freedom, equality and progress of the indigenous nationalities, the (BSPP) regime has suppressed their peaceful demands by force. It is now plunging Burma deeper, day by day, into the mire of economic disorder by frenziedly escalating the civil war to a higher level of ferocity. Due to the civil war and the (BSPP) regime's irrational economic policies, the country has been plagued by unbridled corruption, booming black-market trade and spiralling commodity prices. Inflation in the country has become rampant and the number of unemployed is rising unchecked.

The economic situation of the country has deteriorated so much that the (BSPP) regime has to apply for the Least Developed Country status in order to get some relief from the burden of foreign debt which has amounted to US \$ 4,000 million.

The country has to face problems on all sides, mainly, as a consequence of the civil war. The civil war has its roots in political problems. The economic and social ills have dragged on as it is because the (BSPP) regime refuses to solve the political problems by political means.

It is the firm conviction of the NDF that true unity of all the nationalities and genuine peace can be gained only by solving political problems by political means and giving democratic freedom to the people.

We urge the peoples of all nationalities to join forces with the NDF, which has been growing in strength in its struggle for freedom, equality and social progress, and fight against the (BSPP) regime by all available means.

- BSPP dictatorship regime shall definitely fall.
- National Democratic Revolution shall definitely triumph.
- Genuine Federal Union shall definitely emerge.

Waxing Moon of Wazo 13, 1349  
July 8, 1987

The Second Congress  
The National Democratic Front (NDF)  
(Burma)

On the Speech of U Ne Win and Subsequent Development

On August 10, 1987 Chairman of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), U Ne Win, convened an extraordinary meeting of high ranking officials of the party and the government.

In his speech he went on to say that he had been "kept in the dark" and admitted that mistakes had been made during the "27 years" of his rule. He urged the officials to submit mistakes had in the future without hiding anything. Mistakes found must be corrected and even points in the constitution must be changed if necessary, he added. In conclusion he said conditions always changed and, accordingly, changes must be done in a way to be consonant with the changed situation.

U Ne Win's speech made observers inside and outside of the country to come out with different opinions. Some opined that U Ne Win had undergone a change in view and there might be a ray of hope for the country, but most of them see it as another trick of U Ne Win, a move just to mislead public opinion. One point all of them agreed upon was that something drastic was on the way.

U Ne Win was throwing his credibility to the wind when he said that he was not aware of the true situation of the country, for he had been running the government with direct orders as an absolute dictator. By his clever move, U Ne Win was apparently attempting to put on an aura of innocence and find scapegoats to put all the blame on, after plunging the country into shame and disgrace. For the people in general, they had to take what U Ne Win said as a big joke and laughed in order not to cry.

U Ne Win's next move, most shocking and damaging to the people, was not long in coming. On September 5, 80% of the currency in circulation was made worthless by demonetization of 25, 50 and 75-kyat notes. Unlike on the previous two occasions, the people were not allowed to exchange any amount of their worthless paper money for the new legal tender. The demonetization, like in the previous instances, severely affected 90% of the population who could barely maintain a hand to mouth existence under the Burmese Way socialist economic system. It was a blatant robbery of the poor. This callous and loathsome act aroused hatred and anger in the hearts of the people. In anger and desperation thousands of people led by monks and students took to the street in violent demonstrations on the 6<sup>th</sup> of September. Foreign tourists burned their worthless notes in the open in disgust. As usual, U Ne Win's reaction to the public protest was arbitrary and irresponsible. All schools and institutes of learning were immediately closed and the students were sent home, by force. Some daring students, realizing the futility of the struggle for justice under Ne Win's rule, came over to join forces with the NDF.

According to reliable information reaching here, the commodity prices shot up out of sight after demonetization. The people who

suffered most were the poor. Most people refused to accept the new notes issued in the 45 and 90-kyat denominations. There was a growing mistrust of even the 5 and 10-kyat denominations.

In spite of a fertile land and the abundance in human and natural resources, the people are going hungry. The country, neck deep in foreign debt, has acquired the disgraceful title of one of the poorest countries in the world.

It is plain for all concerned to see that the principal culprits of all these troubles are U Ne Win and BSPP leaders under him who have been misusing the wealth of the country and foreign aid for their personal enrichment and on the genocidal war against the non-Burmese indigenous nationalities who are fighting for their inalienable birth-rights, the democratic freedom and self-determination.

If U Ne Win sincerely desires to receive effective and competent advice for the rehabilitation of the country, he shall have, first of all, to institute freedom of the Press and meet with the leaders of the opposition forces to address the question of the civil war, because his hirelings, the BSPP leaders under him, shall never be able to gather the courage needed to give him any constructive advice.

In the judgement of NDF, the most mortal mistakes U Ne Win and his followers have committed are:-

1. The institution of one-party military dictatorship rule, instead of a democratic form of government based on popular sovereignty;
2. Escalation of the civil war, instead of finding a solution to it through political means, and
3. Establishment of a faked union, instead of a genuine federal union of nationality states having equality and self-determination.

Only when the BSPP military government finds solutions, through negotiation with the opposition parties, to correct the above-mentioned mistakes, peace and prosperity will return to Burma.

The aim and object of the NDF is establishment of a genuine federal union based on freedom, equality, social progress and self-determination, and compatible with the interest of all the indigenous nationalities, including the Burmese.

As the civil war in Burma has its roots in political problems, we have to find a political solution to it. It is the firm conviction of the NDF that only when the BSPP government establish peace by finding a political solution to the civil war, can the country be saved from the disaster it is facing now.

September 9, 1987

The year of 1349, 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the waning moon of Tawthalin

Central Presidium  
National Democratic Front



# NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF BURMA

## Prime Minister's Speech

Dated: 3rd Day of Waxing Moon of Pyatho, 1352  
December 18, 1990

Dear respectable, democracy-loving leaders and journalists of the foreign press agencies,

Today, we reached a remarkable stage in the historical developments in Burma. Therefore, this day is full of grace and indeed an auspicious day for all the persons who attend this ceremony and for the people and nationalities all over Burma. I wish for the health and happiness to the entire people and nationalities in the Union of Burma.

Dear respectable guests of honour,

As the entire people of Burma and many countries in the world are well aware of the situations in Burma, it has already been 26-years, the military and one-party dictatorship has brought the political, economical and the social life of the people in Burma under its state monopoly and enslavement resulting in a divided and parlous state. However, the people have always been defiant and finally there was the people uprising in 1988 against this tyranny. Then the military regime, led by General Saw Maung, seized power again. Giving the general elections as the incentive, it schemed by various means for the destruction of the political parties and other democratic forces in Burma. However, contrary to the junta's expectation, the majority of



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the people overwhelmingly voted for the National League for Democracy (NLD) Party. It was indeed a surprise to all the world.

Now, we, the people representatives to the People Assembly, have formed a government in the liberated areas. As we all know, this is the only option for us to choose because this military junta has no will and no way to transfer power to the people. Scheming to delay for months and years, it is creating situations to make the process of transferring power to the People Assembly a failure.

As for the NLD, it had proposed the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) many times to discuss the transfer of power to the People Assembly. In accordance with the Gandhi Declaration, the NLD had sent a petition signed by the people representatives to the People Assembly calling for the principles of non-grudge and correlation and the smooth transfer of power to the People Assembly. As for the SLORC, it had never responded and gave the excuse that it had no way to talk with the political parties for its being a non-political entity. Then Burma has become a parlous state due to the frequent harrassment by night searches, unlawful interrogations and investigations, arrests, tortures, persecutions and all the human-rights violations of the SLORC.

With such a situation under the SLORC's rule, it is absolutely impossible to call a People Assembly and establish a legitimate government. The only option for the representatives elected by the vast majority of the people is to escape from the parlous state under the SLORC into the liberated areas and form a



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government for the people. This is what we have done to make good of the election results.

Since this government comprises the representatives of the NLD, the National Democracy Party and many other people representatives, we call it the National Coalition Government. It aims

1. to eliminate the SLORC, the military regime, immediately,
2. to call a National Convention with the People Assembly representatives elected in May 27, 1990, members of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB), other representatives from the election winners, and democratic organizations and forces

3. to establish a genuine Democratic Government in Burma.

The DAB has warmly welcome the National Coalition Government. On the basis of broad-mindedness, goodwill and unity and aiming to establish solidarity among all the democratic forces and organizations in Burma, all the members of the DAB, the representatives of the NLD, the National Democracy Party, individual people representatives and the democratic organizations have unanimously agreed to form the Democratic Front of Burma (DFB).

In conclusion, I would like to urge all students, monks, people, and all democratic forces and organizations in Burma on this remarkable day, as many of our people have sacrificed their lives in our struggle for democracy and justice, to make a strong commitment to march to success in the struggle for the noble cause.



# NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF BURMA

## Declaration of the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma

Dated: 3rd. Day of Waxing Moon of Pyatho, 1352  
December (18), 1990

The entire people of Burma and many of the world's population are well aware of the 1988 uprising of the monks, people, and students who staged demonstrations and general strikes against the more than (26) years reign and intolerable enslavement of the Ne Win regime's military and one-party dictatorship in Burma.

Ne Win's military regime staged coup d'etat after crushing the 1988 people uprising. Naming itself the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) and giving the reason to hold a multi-party democracy general elections, the military regime, led by Gen. Saw Maung, functioned over all the affairs of the state.

During throughout the period prior to the elections, the political parties' election campaigns were either restricted or banned by the SLORC's orders and declarations. The organizations and election campaigns of the political parties were strictly controlled by the Orders 2/88, 8/88 and the Martial Law orders of the SLORC. Democratic forces and organisations, including the National League for Democracy (NLD) Party which enjoyed the popular support of the majority of the people, were restricted or suppressed by various means. Many leaders and members of various parties, including U Tin Oo, the Chairman, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the General Secretary of the NLD Party, were put under house



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frequent interrogations and night searches.

The pro-democracy people dared not express their will and attitudes because of threats, interrogations, investigations and many other harassments by various means. People's rights to freedom of opinion and expression were also threatened and denied. People were forced to live in fear under the oppressive military rule. The elections were held under such harsh conditions full of restrictions and difficulties.

However, with the overwhelming support of the people, the NLD has won the elections securing 85% of the total seats of the People Assembly. In the light of all these events and developments in Burma, the establishment of a people democratic government that can guarantee and safeguard the democratic rights and human rights in Burma has also become a historical necessity. The military junta held the general elections only to establish its own puppet government. However, the people had expected a genuine democratic government after the general elections. With that great expectation, the people did vote overwhelmingly for the NLD. This act of overwhelming support for the NLD means that for the achievement of democratic rights and human rights, the NLD had been entrusted with the historical duty to establish a people democratic government as soon as possible.

Having no intention to transfer power to the NLD, the winner of the general elections with a landslide victory despite the threats and restrictions, the SLORC, with the schemes to delay transfer of power to the People Assembly, threatened and forced the political parties to accept its programmes.



**NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT  
OF THE UNION OF BURMA**

Tin Maung Win  
Advisor to the Prime Minister  
Advisor to the Supreme Council  
DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF BURMA (DFB)